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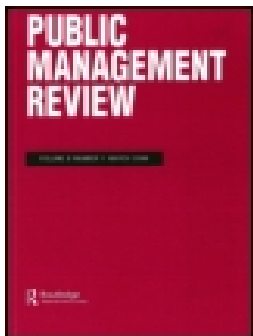
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Governance-as-legitimacy: are ecosystems replacing networks?

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ABSTRACT

The paper challenges the network management perspective of Kooiman (2003) and Klijn and Koppenjan (2014) arguing that complexity in local public service governance now means they are better approached as ecosystems than networks, which are centrally managed. Instead, we note Duit and Galaz's (2008) idea of flexible governances and, using a reformulated version of Lipsky's (1980) street-level, synthesize Laclau's (1990) idea of governance-as-legitimacy with Vygotsky's (1934) social learning approach and Six's (2005) trust theory to suggest a new analytical framework. We use the framework to analyse logic-of-practice in services-as-a-system (pulled, personal services).

KEYWORDS Networks; ecosystems; Tampere

1 Introduction

Osborne's (2010) call to investigate novel governances, their hybridity and new forms, continues to evoke responses, including as Richardson, Durose, and Dean (2018) show, increasing evidence of localized and diverse governances. Yet the dominant conceptual instruments for analysing public service governance remain rooted in binary choices (market-hierarchy) and/or network management (Kooiman 2003; Klijn and Koppenjan 2014). We will argue and evidence that the network management approach to analysing the organization of public services is becoming less relevant since it presumes top-down imposition of governances; centrally controlled networks, rational agency and visible causal relationships at a time (as we shall show) when local public services are increasingly moving from networks to ecosystems.

Citing examples, taken from Finnish local authority service organizing, we will show that new models of local public services and associated governances are arising, as pragmatic and problem-centred responses to changing demographics, technology and tightened budgets. As Osborne envisaged, this often hybrid organizing of services stretches across the public, private and third sectors (3 S). Since March (1991) we have understood that in high-velocity environments, changes in organizing occur rapidly, often adopting simply 'what works' and evolving governances as practice develops,

instead of allowing organizational parameters to dictate governances. It is this situation of complexity and ecosystems that we find characterizing Finnish local public services featuring active agency by local service users and requiring a new analytical framework based on ecosystems and not networks.

Our paper features recent PMR research on value creation and value destruction: Bozeman (2018), Hardyman, Kitchener, and Daunt (2019), Trishchler, Dietrich, and Rundel-Thiele (2019), Dudau, Glennon, and Verschuere (2019) and Engen et al. (2020; Plé, Chumpitaz Cáceres, and Harris (2010). These papers are not directly concerned with governance; they focus on coproduction from Vargo and Lusch (2008) service-dominant logic marketing perspective and investigate how and why value creation and/or destruction occurs. Since governance, either network or ecosystem, frames this value activity, we see our research as connecting with these debates. Like Plé and Chumpitaz Cáceres our unit of analysis is the service system, particularly services-as-a-system, not individual users (the analytical unit of the other five papers), though users are an essential sub-system in public service ecosystem. The contrast with our own research is instructive because three of the papers focus on circumstances in which cocreation creates value (Hardyman *et al.*, Trishchler *et al.* and Bozeman) and three on potential negative results of coproduction; Dudau *et al.*'s argument that whose co-production can have negative results and Engen *et al.* and Plé *et al.* who both argue that cocreation can result in value-destruction.

We suggest a new framework for analysing the emergent localized governance of public services as ecosystems, which shows how the effectiveness of such arrangements, as opposed to a narrower drive for efficiency, often the aim of networks, can result in improved local public services. In doing so we note Duit and Galaz (2008) idea of flexible governances and, using a reformulated version of Lipsky's (1980) *street-level*, synthesize Laclau's (1990) idea of governance-as-legitimacy with Vygotsky's ((1934) 2008) social learning approach and Six's (2005) trust theory. Taking health and social care as an example and referencing practice in the City of Tampere, our research question is: how and why are new and often informal ecosystem governances emerging at a highly localized street-level in health and social care?

Governance here is deployed in a wide sense of rules and norms guiding decisions and actions. Part of our purpose is to demonstrate the greater active agency in ecosystem compared with more top-down network approaches to public services. We build on Memon and Kinder (2016) extension of system approaches, using the idea of services-as-a-system: personalized configurations of cross-disciplinary services are 'pulled' at street-level by service users, integrating services. We contrast these service systems to 'pushed' fragmented services often delivered by top-down networks. Users acting in practice with formal and informal service providers presumes high degrees of trust between agents at street-level resulting in social learning. These processes, discussed in detail below, form patterns of service provision, which we argue, become governance-as-legitimacy, despite and not because of externally imposed governance direction. It is from the logic-of-practice over time, that localized governances emerge. This research joins Zacka (2017) in using Bourdieu's (1984) idea of logic-of-practice as a unit of analysis. Our focus is therefore on practice in organizing localized services rather than the organizations involved in their delivery. Instead of the inter-organizational application of centrally dictated rules, found in network theory, like Toulmin (2003), our evidence base arises from *mētis*; informally arrived at rules and norms resulting from practice.

Like Westphal and Zajac (2013) the governances we explore are behaviourally situated and localized, similar to Pierre and Peters (2000) notion of *governances without Government*. Unlike Kooiman's (2003) assumption of rational agency, we follow Hardin (2002) and Engeström, Miettinen, and Punamäki (1999) into a world of cognitive-emotional active agents.

Flow of argument

Governance here is deployed in a wide sense of rules and norms guiding decisions and actions. Part of our purpose is to demonstrate the greater active agency in ecosystem compared with more top-down network approaches to public services. We build on Memon and Kinder (2016) extension of system approaches, using the idea of services-as-a-system: personalized configurations of cross-disciplinary services are 'pulled' at street-level by service users, integrating services. We contrast these service systems to 'pushed' fragmented services often delivered by top-down networks. Users acting in practice with formal and informal service providers presumes high degrees of trust between agents at street-level resulting in social learning. These processes, discussed in detail below, form patterns of service provision, which we argue, become governance-as-legitimacy, despite and not because of externally imposed governance direction. It is from the logic-of-practice over time, that localized governances emerge. This research joins Zacka (2017) in using Bourdieu's (1984) idea of logic-of-practice as a unit of analysis. Our focus is therefore on practice in organizing localized services rather than the organizations involved in their delivery. Instead of the inter-organizational application of centrally dictated rules, found in network theory, like Toulmin (2003), our evidence base arises from *mētis*; informally arrived at rules and norms resulting from practice.

2 Governance-as-legitimacy

Central to our framework is governance-as-legitimacy in services-as-a-system. Both concepts share an epistemological foundation in referencing emotionally cognitive agents: real people using real services at street level. Next, we show how logic-of-practice forms and reproduces governances in service systems. The following sections discuss trust and social learning to complete our intellectual jigsaw.

We use the term governances in the Mintzbergian sense (Mintzberg 1993) to mean coordination and control by rules and norms, closest here to his participative *democratic governance*, and to what Foucault (1997(1975)) calls the *conduct of conduct*. Governance here is not the top-down exercise of power conceived by Streeck (2017). Rather, following Lukes (1974), governance is the exercise of authority, invisible tramlines delineating cohesion of agents around legitimated practice. We argue along with Bardach and Eccles (1989) that trust – when combined with authority – is an alternative to coercive power to coordinate intended practice. We begin by establishing a gap in the literature.

Gap in literature

There is a gap in research literature around migrating from local public service networks to ecosystems and the implications of this for governances. We note that numerous authors including Osborne, Radnor, and Nasi (2012); (2016) and (2020),

Alford (2016) and Hardyman et al. (2015) explore cocreation, governances and/or public service-dominant logic without discussing ecosystems or their governances in relation to network governances. In a similar vein, Radnor et al. (2014) consider the relationship between service co-design and coproduction and Eriksson et al. (2019) consider collaborative governance, each without discussing ecosystems or their governances in relation to network governances. Skålén, Aal, and Edvardsson (2015), who equate service systems as a term with ecosystems, do not delve into the characteristics of ecosystems or their governances. Mars, Bronstein, and Lusch (2012) who consider at length ecosystems as a metaphor transferring from biology refer to ecosystems as *democratizing governance and innovation* (2012:271); however, this point is left unpacked as they contrast organizational and biological ecosystems.

While Vargo and Lusch (2004, 2008 and Vargo and Lusch 2008) discuss ecosystems and comment on governances, throughout their work they make almost no mention of public services (Authors 2020). In (2016) for example they discuss how SDL relates to market governances, without specific mention of public sector ecosystem governances, the subject of our research. Trischler and Charles (2019), who investigate policy co-design, cite ecosystem as an aspect of multi-scalar organizing. Though they do not investigate ecosystem governance in detail, they call for more research on how PSDL or SDL affects service policy and design issues, including governance. Trishchler, Dietrich, and Rundel-Thiele (2019) emphasize the importance of multidisciplinary teams in designing systems creating value, though unlike Laitinen, Stenvall, and Kinder (2017) they do not connect the service system with design parameter arising from context and culture. Importantly, Trishchler *et al.* highlight the difficulties of involving vulnerable users, perhaps with learning difficulties in system design, an issue, which for people with dementia Kinder (2000, 2003) analysed. Petrescu (2019) synthesizes ideas from ecosystem, marketing, public value and public service logic theory to explore new holistic marketing perspectives for public services, including co-design; however, the work does not include new research on ecosystem governance. We discuss below Klijn's (2008); Klijn and Koppenjan (2014) work on complexity.

We conclude, there is little if any literature specifically discussing (a) the difference that ecosystem governance for public services makes from network governance or (b) that some local service providers are replacing network organizing with ecosystems.

Real people, real services

Governances in the 'hard' sense of codified rules, processes, structures and standards are insufficiently granular to explain governance-as-practiced in local service delivery. Agents in Williamson's (1975) mixed governances and Kooiman's networks are rational-cognitive and reference formal knowledge in decision-taking. Street-level governances frame tangible and intangible service delivery and do not correspond to the symbolism expressed in Foucault's (1997 (1975)) *governmentality*. Granular local public services depend on people-to-people: voluntary, negotiated and cooperative interactions (Dorbeck-Jung et al. 2010). Street-level encounters creating governances occupy a quite different epistemological stance from 'pushed' supply-driven services designed with presumed rationality by technical experts. Our perspective envisages service users and the emotional content of user-provider relationships influencing practice in dialogical rather than dialectical motors of change: relationalities trumping rationalities.

We follow Toulmin's (2003) emphasis on the importance of *mētis* (tacit, highly situated knowledge) enabling practice. Our argument is that *metis* is the oil in the SLB engine; practice gives rise to how future practice is governed: governances in local public service creation are formed from practice to suit specificities: people, services, degrees of co-creation, improvisations and rules of thumb intuitive actions. This is akin to Polanyi's (1958) idea of creating knowledge that is not only true but also useful; captured in Dewey's (1939) phrase *pragmatic technology* and Bateson's (2000 1973) *routines of habitation*. *Mētis* is Archer's (2003) *minds-on* active agency, as opposed to passive service users presumed in network management analysis (Kooiman 2003) or knowledge codification cycles (Nonaka and Takeuchi 1995). Scott's (1998) point that the seeing state finds it difficult to envisage micro-relationalities informed by emotional attachment and negotiated consents forms part of our story. Drawing from Ryan and Deci (2000) agency here presumes autonomy, competence and relatedness, a classification to which we return below.

Governance-as-legitimacy is distinct from culture (either social or occupational) since culture influences today's enactment and prescribes future rules and enstructurations (Dillon and Valentine 2002). Our concept is not limited to immediate reactions since governance-as legitimacy depends on the legitimacy of governances created in logic-of-practice i.e. everyday decisions, interpretations and actions, which when patterned over time become informal governances. Without legitimacy, governances can be vacuous (Gunningham 2009); legitimacy insists on pragmatic usefulness as opposed to rational rules applied consistently whatever the context. Governance-as-legitimacy, as recent empirical work by Piore (2011) and Zacka (2017) show, depends upon the legitimacy of governances created in a logic-of-practice.

Emergent governances

Our contribution reveals the processes by which governance-as-legitimacy emerges. From this perspective, formal top-down governances are part of Foucault's (1997 (1975)) *mode of subjection*; a background seeking to delimit the exercise of individual wisdom in practice. Such governances privilege, as Hyun, Post, and Ray (2018) note, long-term organizational goals above shorter-term user needs: the Teacher must teach to test, the Police Officer must arrest, the Social Worker must serve a target number of clients, etc. Alternatively, the street-level perspective liberates local users and providers from Foucault's subjugation. Formal top-down governances become illegitimate, part of an unwelcome backdrop. Instead, we envisage *the practice of the self* rather than the imitation of central governances found by Richardson, Durose, and Dean (2018). Learned new governances in communities of practice (Nardi 1996; Lave and Wenger 1991) and distributed in dialogue, receive sanction from acceptability in the local occupational culture: governance-as-legitimacy is localized by emotional-cognitive reflection and distributed learning.

With Lipsky (1980) we emphasize the importance of street-level public services, while noting important contextual changes including the importance of the 3 S, technological enablement of services and co-production between employed professionals and users (Bolton and Houlihan 2010). Current (as opposed to 1980) street-level encounters, are likely to be 'pulled' in SAAS (Memon and Kinder 2016), into personalized, multi-agency configurations. Indeed, Zacka (2017) argues that patterned practice today (compared with 1980) is less likely to be justified by reference

to a hierarchy or wider professional group, it is an immediate (micro) occupational culture into which new staff are socialized. Levels of analysis are important. For example, Engen et al.'s (2020) discussion of value destruction cites examples of individual service users' negative experiences. Since governances are system-level, individual negative cases would amount to examples of system failure and opportunities for agents to tighten up processes. Individual service failures could be described as value destruction only if the system *as a whole* failed to provide users with valuable services. One criticism of supply-driven NPM is that it privileges system efficiency above derived value to users. Like Verhoest, Verschuere, and Bouckaert (2007) we see stimuli for changing governances, not in New Public Management (NPM) top-down pressure/response, but instead catalysed by the logic-of-practice.

As Laclau (1990) noted, conceptualizing localized governance challenges the coercion/consent formulation of overall hegemony found in political theory. Analysing governance-as-legitimacy requires a localized lens, digging into complexities, necessarily feature emotional-cognitive agents interacting without central direction (Arthur 2009, 2010, 2015). This is quite different from complexity as envisaged by Klijn (2008): autopoietic systems populated by rational-cognitive agents in networks characterized by managed goals. Our perspective is in the long tradition of complexity theory that links closely with socio-cultural learning in situations of complexity; for example, Gell-Mann (1995); Beinhocker (2007); Allen and Holling (2008) and Holland (2014).

To summarize, governance-as-legitimacy contrasts sharply with top-down, formal and rationalistic imposed governances, which occupies an alternative epistemological domain featuring emotional-cognitive agents that negotiate arrangements from a logic of practice. These arrangements emerge at street-level, taking account of situated complexities, highlighted in services-as-a-system to specifically meet local needs and opportunities. Governance-as-legitimacy is born not from imposition but instead from dialogical trust and learning.

3 Trust and governance

Since trust is an important ingredient to governance-as-legitimacy, here using Hardin (1993), and Nooteboom and Six (2003), we frame trust as relational, cognitive and affective; trust-building processes are a leap-of-faith (Dietz, Den Hartog, and Sanders 2006; Möllering 2006). Trust, as McAllister (1995) argues, is relational. We use Six (2005) to show how trust can respond to trouble. Despite the dominance of a negative relationship between trust and control, it is possible to have trust and control complement each other in a positive relationship. We show that SAAS is particularly suited to meet the conditions for trust and control complementing each other.

Trust: relational, cognitive and affective

Trust is a willing acceptance of vulnerability to another agent. Being relational, trust exudes empathetic concern for the welfare of others (Lindenberg 2000). Trust-building is a process, which as Dietz, Den Hartog, and Sanders (2006) show, distinguishes between (1) trustworthiness as a belief; (2) the trusting decision; and (3) trust-

informed actions – ‘a preparedness to be vulnerable that, in genuine cases of trust, leads to a risk-taking act’ (Dietz 2011, 215). Since trust is built-up in other agents, uncertainty is always attached. Möllering’s (2006) key point is that trust-acting suspends uncertainty and fear of vulnerability in anticipation of future empathetic actions by trusted agents – a leap of faith based on positive expectations from mutual understanding.

Dealing with inevitable trouble

Trust is invariably tested by trouble, events that disrupt these positive expectations. Trouble events can trigger emotions, and unless negative emotions are suspended, trust wanes; alternatively, if understanding is enhanced, trust strengthens (Six 2005). Trust and control can be viewed as negatively related, with distrust leading to increased formal control. Our view informed by Long and Sitkin (2006) Sitkin (1995) is that trust and control can be complementary. With Weibel (2007) and Weibel and Six (2013) we argue this occurs when Ryan and Deci (2000, 99) self-determination (SDT) conditions are met, i.e. controls are viewed as supportive. The three basic psychological needs in SDT are autonomy, competence and relatedness.

Table 1 shows what previous research found regarding the conditions for the work context to support basic psychological need fulfilment. These align with SAAS, both for users and providers, given the bottom-up and horizontal relations that characterize SAAS. Contexts characterized as meeting these needs result in high-trust and higher performance. Autonomy is perceived when actors experience influence over the design and implementation of (in)formal controls, when they are agreed in dialogic processes rather than imposed. They may still feature accepted standards and performance indicators as (Weibel 2007). Research into the perverse effects of performance management systems, and how to mitigate these effects, provides support for the important role of dialogue in the design and execution – including interpretation – of performance controls (De Bruijn 2007). Figure-1 illustrates how, using SDT conditions, positive feedback in a service system results in enhanced competence and task significance, intrinsically motivating those involved. Similarly, positive effects on well-being and performance are shown as resulting from relatedness.

In summary, trust is relational, cognitive *and* affective and can either mitigate the need for top-down control or reinforce its efficacy. Processes building trust in locally

Table 1. Analysis of organizational conditions that support psychological needs.

Psychological needs	Conditions
Autonomy	Participate in development and execution of of formal control Support for own initiative Opportunity for choice
Competence	Learning-oriented and constructive feedback Opportunities for competence development Task significance
Relatedness	Peer support Manager trust in professionals Equity and inclusion Manager support: -Manager take professionals’ perspectives -Managers understand professionals’ feelings and beliefs

(Source: Ryan and Deci 2000; Six 2018)

delivered public services-as-a-system featuring coproduction will inevitably be exposed to trouble, the result of which will be to strengthen trust or trigger distrust; the outcome depends on how the actors involved deal with the emotions that the troubling experience evokes. Since users are necessarily part of ecosystems and their feedback from logic-of-practice is one stimuli of continuous improvement, the designed-in value destruction feared by Dudau, Glennon, and Verschuere (2019) cannot occur, or only temporarily until other agents respond. Effective feedback flows in open systems prevent the negative effect Dudau *et al.* fear; their fears could only be realized in a closed system, where by definition the quality of cocreation would be limited. Figure-1 illustrates how positive feedback in systems that create contexts where trust and control reinforce each other can result in improved performance. Combining trust-building and SAAS creates a distinctive perspective, which highlights the limitations of assuming rational agency (as is the case in dominant network management theories), since as the figures above illustrate, expectations are formed from feedback and requires acknowledging that agents are emotional-cognitive. How feedback is interpreted and how agents make sense of trouble is not automatic; it is a process of social learning, to which we now turn.

4 Social learning, governance and framework

To take stock, we have built a picture of local public service delivery systems, involving relational and trusting users with street-level providers patterning logic-of-practice to constitute governance-as-legitimacy. Legitimacy within SAAS is counter-posed to top-down, formalized or managed network governances. It is the result of emotional-cognitive agents creating *mētis* in and from practice; forming localized governances as a way of overcoming *modes of subjection* imposed externally and/or by senior management. We now turn to the final jigsaw piece: social learning.

Figure-2 presents a new framework for analysing governance emergence avoiding mechanical top-down/bottom-up and managed network metaphors. Guided by Vygotsky’s (1934) (2008) social learning theory, logic-of-practice and trust-building, figure-2 illustrates how relatedness creates governance-as-legitimacy. Our social learning perspective draws on the work of Finnish and other Nordic pedagogy theorists (including Engeström and Kerouac (2007); Härmäläinen 2003); and Kurki and Nivala

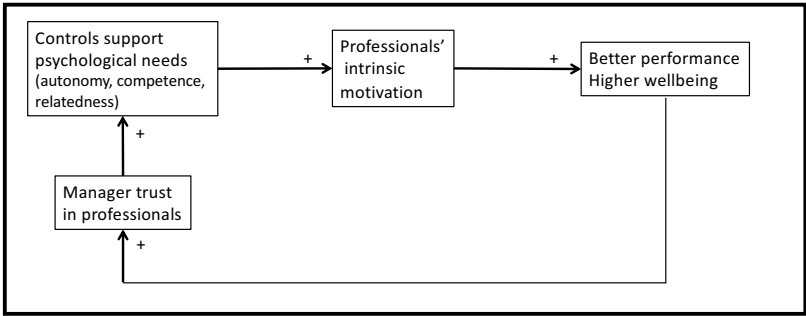


Figure 1. Positive flow in social context, such as services-as-a-system. Supporting professional's needs of autonomy, competence and relatedness.

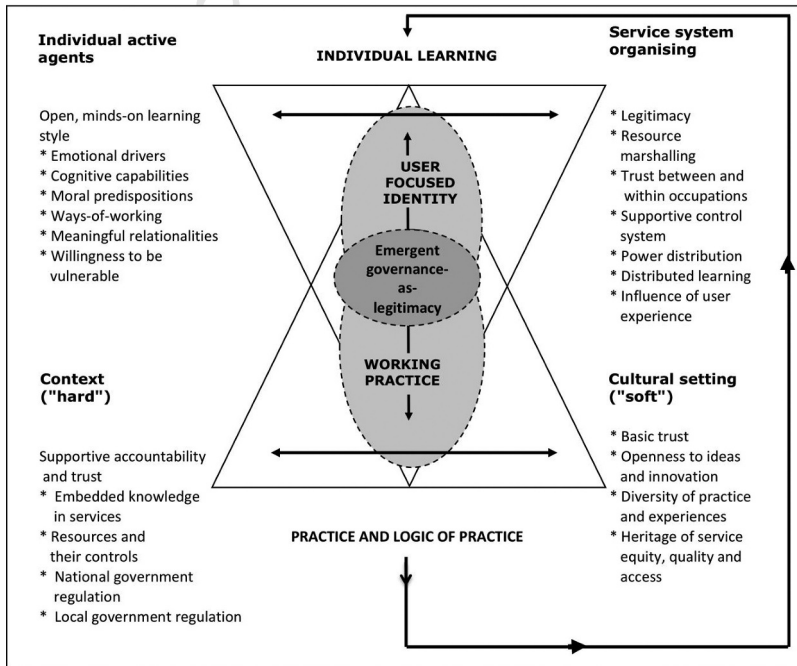


Figure 2. Social learning framework showing how learning from the logic of practice and trust creates governance-as-legitimacy.

(2006); and Illeris (2004); and Elkjaer (2003). It is the complex interaction of these factors that produce emergences new governances.

Top left in figure-2 are emotional-cognitive individuals, who from practice are learning from the exercise of discretion possible in the locale, guided by emotional attachments to design and deliver service models that solve users' problems. Organizing is a systems level; it assumes the practice in the system of individual users (and individual other agents) and as Hardyman, Kitchener, and Daunt (2019) note, that as agents respond to the results of practice, new patterns of practice will emerge, referencing (in healthcare) professional and clinical standards. Since users can be vulnerable and depend upon service outcomes for wellbeing, these combine control (standards) and trust (shared intent). Individual agents interact within a service system (top-right), populated by a variety of other agents (voluntary organizations and private providers); an exercise of distributed learning. Through interactions, acceptable ways of coordinating activity and decision-outcomes are shared and crystallized into legitimate governances. For example, as Thomann, Hupe, and Sager (2016) note, once learning is introduced the binary choices framing some discussion of governance (national or local) disappear and synthesized new forms can be born. In all cases the locally learned governances reference the context (bottom-left), setting the wider formal parameters (law, organizational accountability, etc.) within which local discretion is exercised. This context interacts with wider culture (bottom-right) featuring openness to ideas, heritage and diversity of practice.

Interaction occurs at four nodes in the framework. Firstly, emotional-cognitive individuals learn, they secondly distribute learning from practice in ways that organize service delivery forming identities and acceptable local governances. Thirdly, this

learning and these governances reflect local context and culture and respond to, without automatically accepting centrally dictated governances, while fourthly referencing the wider socio-cultural setting. These interactions create new understandings of governance, represented in the centre of figure-2 (which is Vygotsky's *zone of proximal development*) i.e. what is learned from the logic-of-practice. Legitimate patterns constituting emergent governances are thus created and legitimized by active agents. Note that these agents can respond to chance events and surprises and are not constrained by waiting for central direction: trouble in an environment of trust allows adjustment to governances – new solutions – without breakdown. Each localized service system is unique. Governance-as-legitimacy occurs not simply because private, public and voluntary organizations constitute the service system: each city or community has a unique heritage, set of priorities, socio-demographic profile, etc. Governance-as-legitimacy is likely therefore to arise from different sense-making in different situations, supporting our view that more nuanced conceptual instruments are needed than network management or national level dictated governances. Such learning will only be adopted where it benefits the service system; service systems, that include service users, will tend towards positive learning and reject options with negative system impact. This point mitigates the criticism of Plé, Chumpitaz Cáceres, and Harris (2010) that cocreation theory has a normative bias towards positive outcome: it is practice (in open systems that include users) that has the bias towards adopting changes with a positive impact.

By way of summary, we have synthesized theories of trust, social learning, and services-as-a-system as a way of exploring the processes creating governance-as-legitimacy arising from local service logic of practice. Acknowledging the complexity of local services that are both 'pulled' and coproduced by users and therefore blind to intra- and inter-organizational boundaries, our unit of analysis is the *organizing* of services, overcoming the conceptual constraints arising from network management and/or organization-centred study. This gives the ability to appropriately account for how learning and trust-building occur to create governance-as-legitimacy. We now consider our research design and datasets.

5 Method

Stance and research design

Given the emergent nature of governance-as-legitimacy theory, our research is exploratory. We are 'feeling our way' into new territory hoping to clarify meanings and relationships and set a research agenda, what Glaser and Strauss (1967, 104) term *generating and plausibly suggesting (but not provisionally testing) many categories, properties and hypotheses about general problems*. We search for insights and develop arguments for later empirical testing (Lofland and Lofland 1995; Shields and Rangarjan 2013), using a phenomenographic approach (Richardson 1999): i.e. relevant knowledge is constituted from descriptions of events and meanings as experienced by agents. Our analysis and explanation are necessarily provisional and partial, however, following (Saunders, Lewis, and Thornhill 2007, 134) we hope to 'frame' the issue of governance-as-legitimacy in service systems, using as rigorous a method as is possible at this stage in the emergence of new social phenomena (Nargundkar 2003, 41) by giving a case study as illustrative, (not confirmatory) evidence of our arguments.

Soss, Fording, and Schram (2011) present an alternative analytical framework derived from Foucault's (1997 (1975)) idea of self-disciplinary constraints even where local autonomy is perceived arising from top-down sanctioning rules. Such an approach is attractive as Soss *et al.* illustrate in analysing Florida welfare programmes, as a subtle way in which NPM discipline operates. Power's (2003) audit society criticizes similar governance arrangements. However, in our case, we aim to show how locally negotiated rules contradict and dispute the application of centrally determined discipline. Additionally, while Soss *et al.* focus on how organizations apply centralized and top-down discipline, our focus is on patterns of behaviour by agents, across and between organizations, rather than the constraints accepted by organizations.

Sample and data gathering

Our aim was to gather sufficient data to create plausible case illustrations capturing agents' experiences. Our choice focused on innovative services for the elderly featuring governance innovations: health, social care and wellbeing in Tampere, Finland. This builds on previous research by the authors (2018), thereby allowing purposive sampling and revealing *outcome space* i.e. underlying conceptual categories and addresses the significant social issue of how social and healthcare for the elderly are best provided and integrated.

Following Marton's (1986) exhortation to allow agents to speak for themselves in phenomenographic research, we employed Willis (1999) cognitive conversation approach to data gathering carefully allowing respondents to choose vocabulary and sequencing when constructing their narratives. To this data, the authors added their own observations of person-to-person interactions in the research settings.

Twenty-four people were interviewed in Tampere in nine focus groups between March and April 2018. About 14 hours of interviews and recorded data were gathered. Individuals were chosen as typical of the following sectors: Policy and planning (3); Organization & management of care (3); Clients (12); Care Delivery (4) and other stakeholders (2): men = 6; women = 18. Informed consent was given, interviews recorded, transcribed and anonymity guaranteed. Though small, the sample is highly experienced in integrating social and healthcare for senior citizens.

Data presentation: case construction

As Bowden (2005) emphasizes, phenomenography in practice means sorting and resorting data into categories that describe events, decisions and outcomes; in this case, relating to emergent local governances. To commence this process, case construction began by adopting as themes for analysis of the main variables from our framework (figure-2). Hence, the case is structured as follows: (a) background and target problem, (b) tested emergent governances, (c) trust in governance emergence, (d) social learning in governance emergence and (e) outcome emergent local governances. Within these themes, each interviewee (or group) contributes how their experiences shape the overall *outcome space* of the innovation in terms of emergent governances, i.e., capturing the interviewees' ways of seeing the emergences.

Analysis and validity

Rather than revealing ‘truth,’ exploratory research at best is validated as useful knowledge, that can afterwards be triangulated with previous research results and previous conceptual and causal categories (in our case, captured in the figure-2 framework). This pathway, recommended by Richardson (1999), Bowden (2005) and Charmaz (2006) is followed here. As exploratory research, we see particular value in iteratively foregrounding/discarding categories, preparing the way for further research, for cross-case contrasts and comparisons in relating to previous research.

6 Governance-as-legitimacy in Tampere

Background and target problem

Of its 230,000 inhabitants, the City of Tampere in central Finland has 18,957 citizens over 75, 91% living in their own home. The City’s challenge is to offer safe, independent living at home, though 1,450 citizens (7%) reside in serviced or supported accommodation, with 24-hour support (often on a hub-and-spokes model) and 380 citizens (2% of over-75 s) live in permanent residential care. Senior citizens overwhelmingly prefer to live at home.

Tested emergent governance

Senior Citizen services in Tampere are provided homes on a multi-provider model featuring public, private and third sectors, aiming to meet personal needs (a service palette) with some citizens choosing to pay for additional services. Needs are negotiated with customers and their families by client counsellors referencing professional care plans and providers’ resources. One home care professional describes the situation as follows: *There are two sides to it. What is doable, and what the client wants. This is where expenses also become an issue.* The City purchases a variety of services for elderly clients (Care Delivery). In this section, direct quotations from respondents are italicized.

Citizens get information on the possible range of services from City internet sites, providers and client counsellors; the challenge for customers to configuring the personalized package that combines to suit their needs. *It is important that you get the answers and the services at one desk, centralized. The elderly soon feel that things are fragmented and there are many operators. (Policy and planning).* Another long-serving carer says: *I think that the key is to have all actors linked together as a united front for the client (Care Delivery).* One challenge is that third-sector services vary between areas of the city. *The area in question has an active parish, and there are active organizations. There are apartment blocks with common rooms for club meetings . . . whereas there are areas where you have none of this (Policy & planning).*

Trust in governance emergence

A coordinated and controlled service palette promotes trust experienced by clients. *Client councillors provide that security . . . this makes services appear to the client clearer, more secure and constant and trustworthy (Care Delivery).* Trust from customer to counsellor is essential and arises from relationships maintained over time: *You can*

trust the services much more if the worker is a professional, and not always some new trainee who needs to be instructed by the client (Customer). As Policy & Planning point out, Changing staff is a big problem from the point of safety for one thing. If you do not know who the person behind the door is ... it could be anyone. Customer and family 'pull' the appropriate configuration of services, mediated by a counsellor trusted to create an appropriate service palette.

Service providers worry that customers show too much deference and trust. Is it that our actors are assuming things, or do they get distorted, when I talk about clients' views ... of course it is what they tell us, but there is always the possibility distortion when I'm telling things, and we have been seriously thinking that when we have these free services delivered to clients' homes, or if there are fears that the service will not be delivered anymore and there will be revenge (Organization & management care). Careful listening and respect are needed for equality in interactions: I often hear people say that they don't understand what what's being said (Customer).

To avoid suspicion, trust, based on equality, requires an organizational culture respecting each individual. When an elderly person starts receiving services, professionals often make an object of the client, and not so that it is he/she who's the actor. Living at home should not be survival (Delivery of care). Tensions over resources can be a challenge, If there high pressures on time at the office and if there are problems in management the, perhaps, the doctor will not bother to interact with the language and manner that you should (Customer). Personal contact between client and service providers breeds trust that professions pursue the interests of customers. One customer observes: Home care system reacts to changes rather slowly. If you can get hold of a person there with the power and capability, you may get your concerns ahead (Customer). Other customers believe services may be unequally distributed: those clients are doing fine who know the services and the way to reach the top people (Customer).

Counsellors too develop trust, in their case with service providers and the City's organization, that customer needs will be met, whereas lack of information sharing, or 'silo' mentality can breed mistrust. An obvious problem is the customer having to repeat information or explanations: We still have this culture, we have learned that information does not come automatically ... there's a transition phase (Customer).

Social learning in governance emergence

Interactions between service providers and customers based on trust results in social learning: the clear appreciation of what service palette resolves the customer's problems, even where customers inadequately articulate the problem. I feel that service users are discussing, sharing things, and taking part in each other's experiences (Customer). Learning from clients and logic of practice is based on open governances. However, if the elderly are afraid to give criticizing feedback, the information is not reliable, and no learning will take place. (Organization & management care.) It is also possible that the elderly are not accustomed to the idea that hopes and suggestions on correction could be channelled to create a political force, or a force that could take it into the machinery. Perhaps they are not listening anyway ... it's such a big battle that is it really worth getting into (Customer). Listening and learning are feedback loops.

Prescribed service packages and established practice controls can restrict learning from customers, taking away the customer's voice. The challenge is how to be more

present and how to get free from bureaucracy. You cannot have cut and dried solutions in services but to have a learning attitude (Customer). Empathy with customers instead privileges the customer voice, opening the way to learning. For example, the City provides customers with videophones for arranging services. Not only do some customers find them difficult to use, others fear they will result in fewer personal visits or remote control; though often this is not articulated. Service providers are trained to recognize and quell such fears. In particular, shared training between City, private and volunteer staff has proved useful in emphasizing the need for learning. Of course, staff turnover or change means such exercises need repeating and reinforcing.

Outcome emergent local governances

Instead of prescribed governances, the listening and learning approach, based on mutual trust, gives rise to flexible governance arrangements for services: governances crossing previous boundaries, aimed at meeting customer needs. Customers and street-level providers notice how flexible governances create better service solutions at the individual customer level: customers see only their own service, not the services-as-a-system as a whole. *Good things over there, and good things over there, but not necessarily so that it could be seen in the operation of the system ... if there are better services with the clients, they are in small droplets, but this does not exist as systemic phenomena* (Customer). Over time the City hopes customer culture based on equality in service provision will empower customers – building trust and enhancing learning.

7 Discussion

Discussion follows three tracks. Firstly, in-case evidence relating to the emergence (or not) of governance-as-legitimacy resulting from learning from logic-of-practice at street-level. Secondly, reintegrating with previous research, we discuss how our findings relate to previous research and thirdly, consider how useful the figure-2 framework for analysing governance-as-legitimacy.

7.1 Overview of evidence

We begin with an overview of the evidence (Table-2), reiterating that in this exploratory research we present illustrative rather than confirmatory evidence, for which much more comparative research is needed. Since this data-gathering, a further study in Oulu (12-interviews of senior people in local public services (Authors 2020)) adds to the view of the Tampere 18-interviewees: all 30 interviewees accept that local public services are now organizing as ecosystems rather than networks. Clearly much more research is needed to confirm this as a trend.

Are emergent governance-as-legitimacy evidenced? In Tampere health and social care are both provided (legal responsibility and budgets) by the City Council: social care rather than health is driving service integration. Emergent governances reflect the wider array of private and voluntary agents, with the user-influenced integrated service package acting to drive new informal governance formations.

Are emergent governances arising from trust, learning and logic-of-practice? Amongst the new roles and relationships shown, the inclusion of users in the practice of designing (and at times delivering) services appears to introduce new preferences

Table 2. Summary of evidence illustrating arguments structured by framework factors.

Arguments and factors in framework	Indicative evidence from case study
INDIVIDUALS	
Agent and their autonomy, competence and relatedness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Street-level providers feel independent ● Competence development especially professionals; trusted by middle-managers ● Relatedness: social relationship across disciplines ● Relationship of trust by providers to counsellors and customers
<i>Practice of the self</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Some customer self is deferential ● Providers develop competences and confidence
ORGANIZING	
Cocreation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Users help design service package, selecting activities they perform for themselves
Social learning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Counsellors and providers learn patterns of customer preferences, relating these to limits, e.g. costs ● Customer learning of digital system may be limited ● Customer deference may inhibit feedback
Trust	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 'service appears trustworthy' – Client ● Trust of SASS grows in occupational culture ● Trust from stable relationships, e.g. client/provider ● Logic-of-practice increases trust between providers ● Heritage mistrust: interdisciplinary information flow
Services-as-a-system	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Palette of services 'pulled' by user from multiple providers based on needs assessment, consulting with client counsellor
Organizing vs organizations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● No attempt to create centrally controlled network
CONTEXT	
Logic-of-practice shaping governances	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Providers prepared to change from old service logics ● Pragmatic culture, 'what works' gains precedence
Relation between local and formal governances	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Siloed-arrangements cause problems, 'established practices' become barriers ● <i>The challenge is how to be more present and how to get free from bureaucracy.</i>
Framework: evidence learning in organizing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Rising trust between public and private sector as providers ● Previous organizational control governances inhibited learning ● 'I feel that service users are discussing, sharing things, and taking part in each other's experiences.' (Client.)
CULTURE	
Framework: evidence of context influences	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Context supports/encourages learning and trust
Framework: evidence of cultural influences	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 'You cannot have cut and dried solutions in services but to have a learning attitude.' ● Culture of honesty, preparedness to justify actions/opinions to other agents
GOVERNANCE-AS-LEGITIMACY EMERGENCE	
Legitimacy of governance-as-legitimacy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Providers appear integrated/coordinated in customer's viewpoint ● Pragmatic culture, 'what works,' localized accountability tradition
Emergence of governance-as-legitimacy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Ethos of <i>learning from clients</i> ● Patterns of logic-of-practice become governance rules and ways of working
Framework: evidence of emergent governance-as-legitimacy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Learned changes in governances from logic-of-practice ● SAS legitimizes voice of users ● Culture of localized experimentation, local accountability and democratic footprint
HOLISTIC PERSPECTIVE FROM FRAMEWORK	
Network central management	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 'because you may start thinking that you are wrong yourself and the professional is right.'
Rational agency	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Positive emotions towards new solutions ● <i>I feel that service users are discussing, sharing things, and taking part in each other's experiences</i> (Client).

(Continued)

Table 2. (Continued).

Arguments and factors in framework	Indicative evidence from case study
Visible causation in network management	<ul style="list-style-type: none">● Insistence on context and personal needs vs ‘right’ solutions● Organizational (budgetary, legal) accountability vs accountability to user tension
Framework: evidence of individual learning	<ul style="list-style-type: none">● Customers, counsellors and providers learn about costs, packages and limits of context● <i>You cannot have cut and dried solutions, but to have a learning attitude – Provider</i>

and ideas into practice. Issues remain, not discussed here, such as deference towards professionals and the chosen reticence of some lonely citizens. Growth of trust is apparent between professionals across disciplines and between professionals and users (exemplified by the complaint about relationships disrupted by staff changes or technology). Agents in the case are not citing national policy or targets, though these exist. Users ‘pulling’ the service package they prefer, using the palette, is the practice-driving change, challenging what were organizational boundaries, replacing localized and user-oriented governances for the previously formal and top-down governances.

How do the emergent local governances relate to the ‘hard’ context in figure-2? At street-level, user-specified service packages including assessment of risks (e.g. over what and how to co-create and avoidance of institutional care) are displacing Profession-imposed solutions. In addition to services prescribed in care plans, users can buy additional services, such as additional home care time.

These can now be sourced from private and 3 S sources both of which are popular. Social Workers can discount charges for people on low incomes. Whereas under previous governances, Social Workers only referenced Departmental budgets when determining service access, this context has now altered to more prominently feature users and other agents.

Important for the logic-of-practice is the systematic and patterned interactions between agents, which in the past was intermittent but is now regular and systematic. Over three decades, Tampere has built arrangements supporting independent living as an alternative to institutional care for the elderly; this context remains in place. What has altered is the ability of user’s preferences to be actualized. This resonates with Finnish local government traditions of localized accountability; see Mouffe (2000), Bødker and Iversen (2002) and Laitinen, Stenvall, and Kinder (2017) and local experimentation (Antikainen et al. 2019).

Whereas network analysis calls attention to organizations, rational decisions and top-down governances, our alternative approach more deeply captures the actions of users as agents, their affects and learning and how intertwined patterns of localized actions become legitimated over time into legitimated governances. Unlike Soss, Fording, and Schram (2011) we explore governances at a local level focusing on how agents act, instead of how they are constrained to act.

How do learning and trust influence emergent governances? Under previous arrangements, hospital Doctors’ views dominated care planning; they led the ‘pecking order’ of professionals and guardians of special (medical analysis and prognosis) knowledge. New arrangements show knowledge and learning new knowledge more dissipated: to include users, 3 S and private sector. This altered position of users means that any dispute of their preferences needs to marshal knowledge. The ‘pecking order’ position of Social Workers

has altered since where they have a trusting relationship with users, other agents need to justify alternative preferences. In this sense, hospital Doctors are no longer the central agent in trust-relationships. The care plan and its implementation are socialized under the ownership of users and the widened array of providers. Trust too, like learning, is more dissipated, as the increasing choice to use 3 S and private sector services reveals. At street-level, the governance appears more prone to influence by learning and trust than in the previous model where hierarchic role and authority were more influential. These changes to governance will only be adopted where the service system as a whole gains. When Plé, Chumpitaz Cáceres, and Harris (2010) and subsequent value-destruction theorists (such as Engen et al. 2020) express fears that cocreation can destroy value, they are referring to closed systems, in which a negative response by service users do not stimulate change by other system agents. In an open system, individual system faults or generalized system failures will result in actions by other system agents to improve.

How legitimate is street-level governance-as-legitimacy? The case shows personalized configurations of service packages from a palette provided by an array of providers (varying between city districts). Emergent governance arising from logic-of-practice appears legitimate because they persist. Incidentally, this is one of the arguments currently used to resist regionalization of healthcare in Finland, summarized as strategy is more important than structure, especially where local accountability matters, as Laitinen, Stenvall, and Kinder (2017) argued.

7.2 Literature

Referencing previous research, this section suggests three theoretical contributions from this research. Our argument has been that governance-as-legitimacy is the result of dialogical activity by agents in SAAS health and social care for the elderly, that give voice and influence to users. Rules, relationships and ways of working, which are patterned in logic-of-practice create localized and seemingly enduring governance emerge as a result of social learning.

Networks and ecosystems

Promoting new health and social care governance, Bardach and Eccles (1989) suggest that cooperation between sets of professionals is not new, what would be new is systematic cooperation-inducing trust and learning. The managed network perspective embeds arrangements limiting trust and learning and therefore the emergence of new governance at street-level. Recent research in public services has shown that centrally controlled networks, possibly imposed from top-down with financial and performance targets are instruments for NPM: the management of discontent. Centrally controlled networks limit trust and learning because roles and relationships are set. In Finland's case, this was the 'pecking order' hierarchy dominated by hospital Doctors and excluding private and 3 S and the voice of the customer. Of course, learning and trust may develop from formal feedback loops in networks, however, from a SAAS perspective, user preferences 'pulling' integrated services to solve customers' issues, induces wider and deeper learning and trust precisely because all actions and interpretations need to be justified to the customer and their advocates. Patterns of service design and delivery form a logic-of-practice that disrupts old hierarchies, role and relationships. SAAS ecosystems are more

promissory than the managed networks envisaged by Kooiman (2003). Badly managed networks may result in below possible value flow to service users. In ecosystems, as open systems, other agents will respond to signals from users that the system is not delivering to their satisfaction. When Duda, Glennon, and Verschuere (2019), Trishchler, Dietrich, and Rundel-Thiele (2019) and Engen et al. (2020) argue that co-creation can be value-negative for service users, they can only be referring to closed systems, since in open systems other agents would change in response to signals of dissatisfaction from users. In this sense, the idea of co-creation destroying value at a system level, since single defaults do not constitute system failure, is a special case: a system that does not respond to user learning from practice.

Tampere's service system is an ecosystem. Without central direction, new bottom-up governances have emerged by learning from logic-of-practice suiting users and street-level professionals. Since user-needs vary within the city, so to do emergent governance-as-legitimacy; however, in all cases, emergent governances are based activities at service delivery level. Learning, trust, and emergent governances differ between environments that are networks and those that are ecosystem. Since contexts and cultures vary and in the absence of a central controller, ecosystems result in bottom-up and varied governances, while networks are prone to top-down the top-down governance arrangements found by Kooiman (2003) and Klijn and Koppenjan (2014).

Tampere's ecosystems are generating trust and learning from logic-of-practice. The network creates outcomes uniformity whereas the ecosystem results in diversity. Including users in the ecosystem and agents privileging user-defined preferences, dramatically alters emergent governances from top-down cost-orientated towards the quality orientation 'pulled' by users in services-as-a-system and resulting in Tampere's case, in wholly new governance-as-legitimacy. The Nordic context and culture may favour pragmatic theory and practice iteration (figure-2), evidenced by Engeström's (2007) approach, seeking practical results: informality and 'what works' appears more important than prescribed roles and relationships.

Learning, trust and governance-as-legitimacy

Governance-as-legitimacy emerges from learning (*mētis*) in logic-of-practice: trust-based localized roles and rules crystallize into governance-as-legitimacy, re-balancing trust and control. As figure-2 (top-left) illustrates, individual learning features emotional attachment to solutions and empathy towards clients; not the rational agency presumed in network analysis. This amounts to Chesbrough's (2006) 'closed' innovation environment suiting NPM rather than NPG. Tampere's emergent service system devolves rather than centralizes authority, constituting an 'open' and disruptive ecosystem allowing new street-level new logic-of-practice, experimentation and new governances. State professionals (Doctors, Social Workers) are invited to revise existing occupational cultures to include learning from users and other agents (3 S and private sector). This is only possible from a heritage of autonomy, competence and relatedness built over years of welfare state provision that privileged independent living.

Replacing hierarchic rules by trust is only possible in highly localized contexts: place matters as Sennett (2018) argues because *everybody speaks from somewhere*; the context and culture in which the user voices her preference, because it determines whether she

is listened to. Trust is relational, the accepted vulnerability is towards other persons; the reason why high-trust relationships take time to build. Logic-of-practice captures the time taken to assess the vulnerability risks between providers and between users and providers. Six's (2005) point is that 'trouble' always tests trust. In this case, trouble may be an alteration in the user's needs or staff changes. Learning by users and other agents that users' opinions count, their voice has epistemic value, alters relationships in service ecosystems. Repeated and patterned acknowledgement of this in SAAS is what constitutes the new governances, the legitimacy of which is accepted by all agents and especially the vulnerable agents – users.

In Tampere's ecosystem learning from logic-of-practice appears to trump inherited professional cultures as users exert influence and bottom-up changes in governances are chosen. Differing degrees of learning and span of trust impact upon the diversity of new governances: whereas NPM managed networks centrally control, Tampere's ecosystem allows for unpredicted governance innovations, including a diversity of arrangements within the city. Trust as a *leap of faith* to overcome trouble (Six 2005) is evidenced in the case; its span is wide and seems able to respond to trouble.

Organizing and organizations

Weick's (1995) organization/organizing distinction is shown to be important by this research; moving the focus from how services are 'pushed' to users by organizations or inter-organizational (network) arrangements, instead to a focus on organizing 'pulled' services. These are integrated across what were organizational boundaries, being negotiated with user preferences from the service palette and organized by a hybrid mix of public, private and third-sector (top-right in figure-2). Czarniawska-Joerges (1992) forecast of an unlimited growth in organizational forms gains credence; our evidence suggests this trajectory is unleashed when organizing trumps organizations. Organizations privilege bias by accountabilities centred on their own budgets, rules and structures whereas in the absence of central control organizing relies for accountability on trust and learned roles and relationalities delivering outcomes. Such changes take time and we note the continued deference shown to (especially medical) professionals in the Tampere case. Nevertheless, the case supports Richardson et al.'s (2018) view that localization stimulates governance innovation. This is not Zacka's (2017) *governance without government*; rather a shift towards street-level self-government of services and may prove less possible in contexts such as the UK, where Verhoest, Verschuere, and Bouckaert (2007) suggests NPM is more deeply rooted. Future comparative research on governance-as-legitimacy will likely to support Duit and Galaz (2008) finding that since multilevel and complex social interactions are culturally and contextually situated, the forms of localized governance *and* the ways they are constructed, will vary.

7.3 Framework

Our social learning framework is intended to illustrate the processes by which Duit and Galaz (2008) idea of flexible governances become crystallized. To summarize and simplify learning from and with users, organizing services and logic-of-practice, in a culture of trust relationalities and context of localized SAAS, result in governance-as-legitimacy, as figure-2 and Table-2 illustrate. The framework presumes complexity and

emotional agents acting without central direction and stands in opposition to the management of networks perspective represented by Klijn (2008). Its epistemic roots are pull analysis towards localized and situated events and decisions (Hardin 2002), inviting what Engeström and Kerouac (2007) term *expansive cycles of learning* i.e. digging deeper and deeper into contextualized meanings.

Our illustrative case shows individuals acting not as rational agents, but rather listening and learning from users, referencing personalized care plans and puzzling how to deliver them. User input is shown as a critical learning resource and barometer of trust. Taking organizing, not organizations as the unit of analysis reveals the importance of logic-of-practice, shown as a virtuous circle in figure-1 and supporting Pierre and Peters (2000) point on the appropriateness of conceptualizing governance without government in volatile situations. Moving to bottom-left in figure-2, we show how in governance-as-legitimacy the referencing of external (e.g. national) governances varies. For some users and other agents, as McLoughlin (2015) suggests, local governance-as-legitimacy featuring their own values counterpose to national top-down imposed governances. When Bozeman (2018) argues that public values can be identified for the whole US citizenry, he is referring to abstract values. Values expressed in service systems by users, that they aspire to migrate into value are quite different and likely to differ between population sections and social context and culture. Disputation around the US public healthcare system confirms this view.

This is most clearly seen through the lens of trust and learning, each influenced by all factors in figure-2, and creating the emergent governance-as-legitimacy shown at the centre of the figure. Trust and control are not necessarily alternatives; heightened trust may allow greater control, for example over expert decisions as Weibel et al. (2016) argue. This research illustrates processes of trust-building from logic-of-practice resulting in governance-as- legitimacy. When tested by trouble, (in the form of variability of 3 S and private sector availability or staff turnover or change user needs), trust and emergent governances are tested. In particular, the willingness of agents other than users to accept users' role as active citizens with a voice over their own care: trouble then tests the active agency of users.

Governance-as-legitimacy becomes a set of expectations and standards by which practice is judged as valid. For example, governance-as-legitimacy would be invalidated if user inputs were excluded or if faced with trouble, distrust arose. Managed networks presuming rational agency leave little room for the importance of trust and emotional commitments. Governance-as-legitimacy is not reducible to culture, since (a) occupational and wider cultures are shown as influences on, not the result of governance-as-legitimacy, and (b) as the cases illustrate, other factors help shape governance-as-legitimacy (individual cognitions, organizing practice and context).

8 Conclusions and further research

Theory

If the movement from networks to ecosystem organizing of local public services proves to be a general trend, which the authors believe to be the case, and Authors (2020) supports, then network analysis is an increasingly inappropriate approach to the

analysis of diverse local public service governances, often now taking an ecosystem form, with legitimacy negotiated locally. Governance-as-legitimacy based on trust learned in logic-of-practice is a useful alternative way of conceptualizing the effectiveness of local public service governances. Building on Duit and Galaz (2008) idea of flexible governances we challenge the presumption of rationality (Klijn); and relevance of centralized network management (Kooiman) using a new framework to suggest how Laclau's (1990) idea of governance-as-legitimacy helps explain and guide localized public service integration, which seeks radically new effective solutions based on user coproduction.

Coordination and control are fundamental to marshalling people and resources for public services. Increasingly, control refers to outcomes rather than direct ownership and control, leveraging effort from across governances and including coproducers. Networks and ecosystem are likely to each play important roles in delivering public value and 'pulling' service systems towards the personalized needs for citizens. In some instances, as Kooiman (2003) argued, central control will be possible and desirable and network governances and management appropriate, alternatively, absence of central control will result in governance arrangements and less rational management giving rise to bottom-up and informal governance-as-legitimacy: leadership by ideas and consciousness. Either way, our contribution links to the growing stream of public management literature, including Osborne (2010) focusing on relationships between organizations and how these affect intra-organizational governances. Doing so involves diving into the empirical word, the logic-of-practice, either qualitatively or quantitatively, taking seriously issues of trust (Six 2005), *mētis* and learning by active non-rational agents.

Practice

Governance-as-legitimacy at a local level is an expression of confidence that local solutions and acting upon the voice of service users are legitimate approaches to creating effective local public services. The lesson for practice from this research is that if the NPM toolkit as a universal solution to public service delivery is proving unsatisfactory, an alternative is to seek highly localized solutions that are legitimate in the eye of local people and capable of dynamically responding to opportunities such as technological change and lessons learned from logic of practice.

Jansson (2013) makes the argument that public services are being cut because policy-makers are unprepared to defend the tax levels necessary to expand; an argument for which we have some sympathy. Acceptance of the governance-as-legitimacy argument suggests that new models of governance, resulting in active citizenship, are an additional way of presenting the positive case for high-quality public services.

Further research

Evidence here and Authors (2020) supports the view that Finnish local public services are migrating from network organizing into ecosystems. Planned further research will reveal the extent to which this movement is occurring elsewhere. Future research may explore how governance-as-legitimacy and logic of practice relate to Osborne's (2017) idea of

public governance logic and the inter-relationship between meta-levels of governance and localized governances learned and negotiated in practice. Governance-as-legitimacy is an open systems approach in which systemic value destruction (Engen et al. 2020) cannot persist, since agents will respond to user-signalled dissatisfaction. Future research may challenge the idea that open systems adopt value-destroying ideas from cocreation; our view is that services-as-a-system ecosystems will not adopt value-negative processes. As a processual study, the idea of governance-as-legitimacy cannot easily be validated; however, an accumulation of studies across a variety of contexts may strengthen the usefulness of Laclau's (1990) original idea adding to its current interpretations based on Duit and Galaz (2008) work. We envisage future papers (a) contrasting emergent governance processes in network arrangements (in London healthcare) with Tampere's ecosystem; (b) exploring differences in the epistemic roots of network and ecosystem analyses in public management; (c) exploring how active agency is conceptualized in the two approaches; and (d) investigating how leadership in ecosystem contrasts with that in managed networks.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

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